

choose a religious life if this implied a rejection of their families, and how they could relate directly to the sacred if they were themselves married. Rickie Burman reviews the changing roles of women in their families by her study of Jewish immigrants to the Manchester area from about 1880 to 1930. While rituals of the Jewish faith may be less widely discussed than those of the Anglican, Burman's anecdote about the grandmother who kept a shop in Lithuania which supported the family while her husband 'prayed all day' in the synagogue has a familiar ring.

The central paradox to which Malmgreen draws attention is the implicit tension between religion as a socially conservative force and religion as a liberating one. Causes such as temperance and rescuing unmarried mothers brought women into action, sometimes even aggression, and into public life, as Lilian Lewis Shiman and Ann R. Higginbotham show. Religion in the lives of women involves the same issues of class, wealth and power as any other area of social history. These essays offer challenging new ideas about religion as an approved outlet for female energy, and a rich and varied collection of examples of how women transformed the space which religion offered them, making it something of their own. As Malmgreen points out, 'women took to the public platform on behalf of religion long before they were stirred by politics'. The extent to which religion can offer women an area of self-definition remains to be further explored, both in the present and the past, but this rewarding collection makes a start.

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Josef Ehmer, Michael Mitterauer, eds., *Familienstrukturen und Arbeitsorganisation in ländlichen Gesellschaften* [*Family structure and work organisation in rural societies*]. (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1986) Pages 554. DM 78.

The illumination of the relationship between ecology and culture is not only of immediate interest to historians. Since the volume under review includes contributions from both Western and Eastern Europe it provides the opportunity to compare the interpretation of similar processes offered by distinct research traditions.

The majority of the contributors rely primarily on the quantitative analysis of population listings, not for demographic purposes alone, but to discover the relationship between family structure and work organisation. Cultural traditions and economic requirements determined the form of the household, for example, the numbers of children and servants. The

family is taken as the central connection between the micro and the macro level of the economy. For this purpose the concept of ecotypes proves to be very useful.

This concept is seen most clearly in Michael Mitterauer's own contribution, 'Forms of peasant family economy'. In the context of a stimulative theoretical framework he interprets the different structures of the families of cattle farmers, wine producers and home workers. Their families mark the contrast between inmate and day-labourer societies; the form of co-residence is the product of specific economic requirements. Mitterauer's study profits much from the availability of annual listings of the population which allow a serial analysis of the structure of the household. His results are supplemented by Norbert Ortmayr who applied oral history techniques to the study of rural domestic servants in upper Austria between 1918 and 1938. This analysis of lower-class society provides a lively picture of the activities and experiences of servants. It emerges that the structure and requirements of the upper-class farmer's household also determined the forms of co-residence of their servants. The servants were economically dependent on the farmer's decision whether to rely on co-resident servants or to hire day labourers. At least, as long as servants resided with the farmers, the vertical patron-client relationship was much stronger than the horizontal connections between servants. The influence of the composition of the upper-class household on the number of servants is also stressed by Richard Wall. Analysing rural communities in England and the Low-Countries, all highly influenced by the market economy and industrialisation, he argues that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, farmers had come to realise the social distance between themselves and their servants. Their desire for more 'family life' forbade them to co-reside with servants. In addition, with their adoption of a capitalistic mentality they saw that to hire servants was more expensive than to hire independent day labourers.

Three chapters are written by East-European scholars. The first, by Juhan Kahk and Halliki Uibu, focuses on the socio-demographic development of peasant families in three parishes in Estland in the first half of the nineteenth century. The second, by Hainer Plaul, is devoted to the structure of the peasant family in the region of the Magdeburger Boerde, today part of East Germany. Both study the modification of family structure during the period when rural society ceased to be feudal and became capitalist. They reach opposite conclusions. Whereas Plaul finds a relative stability of the family structure over this period, Kahk and Uibu discover a dialectical triad: feudal farm labour – family work – capitalistic farm labour. These contributions have their foundations in the Eastern-European research tradition and confront the reader with some

of its terminology. Unfortunately, the hope of a challenging synthesis emerging from an unfamiliar point of view is not entirely fulfilled.

The Hungarian villages in the middle of the eighteenth century allow Tamás Faragó to study the adaption process of ethnologically different in-migrant groups to similar economic conditions. Based nearly exclusively on quantitative material, he distinguishes three types of structurally and functionally different forms of co-residence: stem-family, extended family and Zadruga. Unfortunately, his remark that not all of these types may be important forms raises some doubt about the relevance of the exercise. Nevertheless, Faragó's analysis of the variety of forms of co-residence will undoubtedly serve to challenge the established model, which presumes the existence of only two major patterns of family structure in historical Europe.

With the article of Albert Tanner, 'Work, household and family in Appenzell-Ausserrhoden', the book shifts away from communities which were dominated by farming, to a society where, from the early eighteenth century, home-industry was very widespread. His sources allow Tanner to compare the household structure of different social groups (home-workers, factory-workers, farmers and merchants). Tanner concludes that the relatively small nuclear family was the dominant form of the household, even taking into account the effect of the life cycle and social position. This conclusion runs counter to the hypothesis, considered 'axiomatic' elsewhere in the book, that the ecotypes largely determined the size and the structure of the household.

*Familienstrukturen und Arbeitsorganisation* offers a tremendous amount of extremely valuable material explaining the development of family structure in Europe in past time. It is to be regretted, however, that only a few attempts are made to compare the regions described in the volume. The collection of essays would have profited very much from concluding remarks, interpreting and summarising the results. For a non-specialist, the absence of such a comparison will seriously hamper the attempt to transcend the differences in time, socioculture, dependence system, form of production and methodological approaches of the various contributions. The balance between ecology and demography is deftly struck, but it must be feared, that the size of the book and the absence of a structuralising comparison of the rich material will restrict it to specialists.

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